

Rob C. WEGMAN

The Testament of Jean de Saint Gille († 1501)*

For musicologists who explore the archives of a major French cathedral or collegiate church it is usually not hard to find their way quickly, thanks to the marvelous series of *Inventaires sommaires* that were published more than a century ago for the almost one hundred *archives départementales* in France. In the volumes for series G, *clergé séculier*, archivists have neatly organized the vast numbers of documents into convenient categories, and one can readily locate the ones that are of greatest potential interest to the history of music : chapter acts, fabric accounts, foundations, confraternity and chapel accounts, daily distributions — and, not least, testaments.

In the immensely rich archives of Rouen Cathedral, too, there is an extensive series of dossiers containing the testaments of canons and chaplains ¹. Even before opening one of these dossiers, it is easy to predict what sort of document one will encounter. For although testaments are many things, as we will see, they are at bottom notarial acts. They have legal power, and must be drawn up and ratified in the presence of at least two witnesses. Typically, therefore, one goes through piles of large parchment sheets, even whole gatherings and booklets, written in the contemporary Latin legalese, in a script that may range from the calligraphic to the barely legible. Covered in centuries of dust, they leave the musicolo-

* Paper presented at the Medieval & Renaissance Music Conference at the University of Bangor, Wales, 24-27 July 2008. I am grateful to the Committee on Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences at Princeton University for two summer travel grants which enabled me to work at Rouen in 2006 and 2008, and to the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Tours, for generously hosting me as a Visiting Scholar in the fall of 2008. I am also pleased to acknowledge the helpful comments and suggestions I received from Emily Zazulia, Leofranc Holford-Strevens and David Fiala.

1. See Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime (hereafter ADSM), *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790 : Archives ecclésiastiques, Série G*, ed. Charles de Robillard de Beaurepaire, 7 vol. (Paris : P. Dupont, 1868-1912). On the testaments of clerics at the Cathedral of Rouen, see Vincent Tabbagh, « Survivre par l'écrit chez les ecclésiastiques rouennais du xv^e siècle », *Tabularia « Études »*, 8 (2008), p. 25-44. On music and musicians at Rouen Cathedral, see Armand Collette, *Histoire de la maîtrise de Rouen*, 2 vols. (Rouen : Cagniard, 1892 ; repr. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2000).

gist's hands looking, at the end of a long working day, like those of a car mechanic.

So it comes as a pleasant surprise to find, in one of these dossiers at Rouen, something quite out of the ordinary : a paper booklet in octavo with a testament conceived wholly as a poem, comprising nearly 300 lines of rhymed French verse (see Fig. 1). This curious document turns out to be the last will of a cathedral musician by the name of Jean de Saint Gille. It was made up on 1 September 1500, some fifteen months before the musician's death, which we know from other sources occurred in the morning of 26 November 1501. The testament of Jean de Saint Gille, which will be the subject of the following essay, has several claims to our interest. Not the least of these claims, as we will see, is an item of information that the testator volunteers in passing : he was a composer, and had in fact written a Requiem Mass in polyphony, specially for his own commemoration.

Let us begin by taking a closer look at the text, which is printed below in Appendix 1². I have just remarked that Medieval testaments are many things, and as notarial documents they are fundamentally a statement of intention, literally, a last will. They represent the last formal opportunity for Medieval men and women to put their affairs in order before death. And those affairs can be divided broadly into three categories : soul, body, and — least important, though it usually takes up the most space — one's worldly possessions.

From the viewpoint of late-Medieval religious beliefs, this three-fold division makes good sense. At the moment of death, soul and body are parted asunder, and will go their separate ways in perpetuity until the Second Coming, when they are rejoined again at the resurrection of the dead. Then all humans will partake in eternal life, either in the New Jerusalem or in Hell, depending on the Last Judgement. What is emphatically not eternal is the material goods one leaves behind. In fact the whole first world, with all things in it, will pass away. So the testament is also the last opportunity to dispose of those goods. As far as the soul is concerned, the best possible way to do that is to spend one's assets on acts that will merit salvation. As far as the body is concerned, it is to make arrangements for a temporary resting place in consecrated ground (preferably near friends, colleagues, and family), as well as for the appropriate funeral rites.

We can recognize all this in the testament before us. The testator introduces himself in the first few lines as Jean de Saint Gille, priest and chaplain of the Collège des Clémentins, one of the four major colleges of chaplains at Rouen Cathedral³. After reflecting, as was customary in

2. Jean de Saint Gille's testament was previously published in Armand Collette, « Testament en vers de Jean de Saint-Gille, chapelain de la cathédrale de Rouen, 1501 », *Bulletins de la Société de l'histoire de Normandie*, 7 (1893-1895), p. 189-201. Collette provides a full transcription without commentary.

3. For the foundation and early history of these *collèges de Darnétal, d'Albane, du Saint Esprit*, and *des Clémentins*, see Jean François Pommeraye, *Histoire de*



Figure 1. First page of the testament of Jean de Saint Gille, dated 1 Sept. 1500. Rouen, ADSM, G 3446, Cote 95, first unnumbered page.

Medieval testaments, that life is transitory, that there is no certainty but that death will one day end it, and nothing less certain than the hour of death, Jean states his intention to put his affairs in order while he is still of sound mind and memory (lines 1-18 ; see French original text in Appendix 1) :

To all who see and hear these letters, and who one day will die, greetings. I make it known to them that I, Jehan de Saint Gille, priest, provided and duly sustained by the Collège des Clementins, considering that this life declines and slips away, day by day, and is but a transitory thing, for which reason my conscience reminds me, as long as I am of sound mind and memory, that there is nothing as certain as death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour, that I, therefore, wish to put my small estate in order before my death, not wanting to die intestate of the goods which God, my creator, has granted to me as to his servant.

Anyone who has read a Medieval testament — for example, that of Guillaume Dufay⁴ — will immediately recognize these introductory words as a conventional preamble, and seemingly a mere formality. Yet this initial statement of intention was more than a formality, and to appreciate the significance of Jean de Saint Gille's words it may be helpful to view them in a broader historical context. In the Middle Ages there were few horrors greater than an unforeseen and unprepared death, the dreaded *mors improvisa*. This horror is still powerfully evoked, for example, in the words of Hamlet's father, who had not just been murdered but, much worse, died before having made his final reckoning⁵ :

GHOST.

Thus was I, sleeping, by a brother's hand,
Of life, of crowne, and queene at once dispatch't ;
Cut off euen in the blossomes of my sinne,
Vnhouzz'led, disappointed, vnnanel'd,
No reckoning made, but sent to my account
With all my imperfections on my head :
Oh horrible, oh horrible, most horrible !

For fifteenth-century lay audiences this same horror had been given dramatic expression in the well-known morality play *Everyman*, an

l'église cathédrale de Rouen, métropolitaine et primatiale de Normandie (Rouen : les imprimeurs ordinaires de l'Archevesché, 1686), p. 539-552. The Collège des Clementins had been established by Pope Clement VI in 1350 : « il fonda un College des saize Chapelains, dont il y en auroit douze Prestres, deux Diacres & deux Sous-diacres pour assister à toutes les heures du Service divin, tant le jour que la nuit ; il voulut qu'ils le sçeussent & le peussent chanter par cœur » (*ibid.* p. 550). The college had its own buildings in Rouen, where the chaplains lived and worked in a self-contained community.

4. For Dufay's testament, see Jules Houdoy, *Histoire artistique de la cathédrale de Cambrai, ancienne église métropolitaine Notre-Dame* (Lille : Danel, 1880 ; Mémoires de la Société des sciences, de l'agriculture et des arts de Lille, 4th series, 7 ; repr. Geneva : Minkoff, 1972).

5. *Hamlet*, I. v. 74-80, First Folio version. See also Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 2001).

English translation of the Middle-Dutch *Spyeghel der salicheyt van Elckerlijc*. Here, Death catches Everyman — who could literally be just anybody — by complete surprise, and the latter is shocked to realize that he is quite unprepared to render account of his life ⁶ :

DETHE.

On the thou must take a long iourney ;
Therefore thy boke of counte with the thou brynge,
For turne agayne thou can not, by no waye.
And loke thou be sure of thy rekenynge,
For before God thou shalte answere, and shewe
Thy many badde dedes, and good but a fewe,
How thou hast spente thy lyfe, and in what wyse,
Before the chefe Lorde of Paradyse.

...

EUERYMAN.

Alas, shall I haue no lenger respyte ?
I may saye Deth gyueth no warnynge.
To thynke on the, it maketh my herte seke,
For all vnredy is my boke of rekenynge.

The point of this warning, for Medieval believers, was that they should do exactly what Jean de Saint Gille had done in his testament : put their affairs in order, settle all debts, forgive all debtors, and make a final reckoning ⁷. In this respect, our Everyman still had some way to go. The eponymous hero quickly discovered the hard way that his most trusted companions, Felawship, Kynrede, and Goodes, would not make the final journey with him, and that another companion, Good Dedes, was too weak to do so, having been neglected by him for many years. In the end, it was Knowledge who came to the rescue : she urged Everyman to visit Confessyon, after which visit Good Dedes made a miraculous recovery, and was able, at last, to join him.

Significantly, Everyman's preparation for death culminates in his decision to write his last will. With this final and most important step the play is effectively concluded : only after he has written his testament is Everyman ready to receive the Last Sacraments and to part from this world ⁸.

6. *Everyman*, ll. 103-12 and 131-34. For this and the next quotation from *Everyman*, see Arthur C. Cawley, *Everyman, Old and Middle English Texts* (Manchester : Manchester University Press, 1961), p. 4-5 and 21.

7. The importance of leaving no debt unpaid is underlined by Jean de Saint Gille in lines 73-76 : « *Item*, I wish that my misdeeds, if I have committed any, be amended, and my debts paid as well : reason demands that it be done thus. » The testament was the place to remember even debts incurred long ago, as we can tell from lines 254-261 : « To my nephew, Robert Gobin, to conclude with him the matter of fifteen francs which he has lent to me : he will have, as I have stipulated, six silver spoons and two salt cellars in their cases and coverings, as I have often promised him : and therewith quits and good friends. »

8. *Everyman*, ll. 694-709.

EUERYMAN.

My frendes, harken what I wyll tell :
 I praye God rewarde you in his heuenly spere,
 Now herken, all that be here,
 For I wyll make my testament
 Here before you all present :
 In almes / halfe my good I wyll gyue, with my handes twayne,
 In the way of charyte with good entent.
 And the other halfe styll shall remayne
 In queth, to be retourned there it ought to be.
 This I do in despyte of the Fende of Hell,
 To go quyte out of his perell
 Euer after and this daye.

KNOWLEDGE.

Eueryman, herken what I saye :
 Go to Presthode, I you aduyse,
 And receyue of him in ony wyse
 The holy sacrament and oyntement togyder.

In the same way, Jean de Saint Gille's testament represents the final, formal statement of its author's readiness to die. Just as in *Everyman*, the decision to write this important document must have been the last step in a longer process of preparation — a process that included, as we will shortly see, the composition of a Requiem Mass. Having stated his initial intention to die well-prepared, Jean moves on, in lines 19-60, with what is his most important concern : the destiny of his soul. Since the human soul was known to be bitterly contested between the powers of good and the powers of evil, it was anything but an idle gesture for him to proceed, like all Medieval testators, by commending his soul to the powers of good — to God the Supreme Judge, and to those who may intercede on Jean's behalf, the Virgin Mary, Saint Michael, the Orders of Angels, and, among the saints, two special friends, protectors, and patrons : Saint John and Saint Egidius (in French, Gilles).

To [God] I commend my soul, with my whole heart, and beg him grace and pardon for all the sins I have committed in this world.

To Mary, full of grace : under her banner I seek shelter, that she may intercede when the Enemy brings his case against me. For she is the mother of concord, of pity, and of mercy. There is no sinner so great in this world, however burdened, base, and stained [with sin] he may be, or he will be returned to the state of grace if he asks, with perfect heart, that his sin not be reckoned against him. Amen that she may act thus for me.

To Saint Michael and the blessed angels, Cherubim, Seraphim, and Archangels, Thrones and Dominations : may they help me against the temptations of the Enemy, who seeks to wrest me from grace both night and day.

To my guardian angel in particular : may he be well-intentioned, not a stranger, towards me, wherefore I pray the Creator that he may act as my guardian and protector.

To my advocates : I call on them that may they defend my body and my soul lest the Enemy will harm them : one is Saint John, the other Saint Egidius, of whom I have taken both name and surname.

Insuper, to those of the holy canon : I beseech them that when they sing the litany, all together in company, they will remember my soul in that great enterprise.

In general, if it pleases the Most High, I commend my poor soul to all saints and saintesses, and appoint them my advocates, to defend my piteous case if anyone should present his complaints against me.

What is immediately noteworthy about this passage is its pervasive legal terminology. Jean de Saint Gille speaks of the Devil as the one who « brings his case against me » (*contre moy procede*) and who « presents his complaints against me » (*contre moy fait ses plaintes*). Likewise, he speaks of Saint John and Saint Egidius as his advocates (*advouez*), and in fact views the entire company of saints as a virtual team of lawyers (*advocas*). These are not idle metaphors, as we will see. Like all humans, Jean could expect to be tried before a heavenly judge almost immediately after death. In that trial, the one thing he would need more than anything else was effective legal counsel, and in this passage he seeks to secure just that.

It was vitally important to commend one's soul to the heavenly company, yet this gesture alone was not sufficient to ensure eternal salvation. Death was known to be a difficult passage, and to make it through that passage unscathed, to die firmly in the faith and with one's merits undiminished, it was necessary to practice the art of dying, the *ars moriendi*. Almost every Medieval image of the typical deathbed scene shows devils and demons scurrying around the room : for these ministers of Satan, the hour of death offered the last, and best, opportunity to tempt the soul into damnation. This was the moment, after all, when the soul was most vulnerable to despair and loss of faith, two temptations that could cause mortals to lose, in one stroke, the merits accumulated in a lifetime. Not even the most virtuous believers could be certain that they might not, in the end, succumb to those temptations. It is this uncertainty that moved Dufay, for example, to compose his four-part motet *Ave regina celorum* and to stipulate in his will that it should be sung in his final hour⁹. Significantly, the motet contains several textual interpolations in which the composer addresses the Virgin directly, asking her to have mercy on « thy dying Dufay » and expressing the hope that his death will be comely in her sight.

The importance of a « good death » could indeed hardly be overstated. If we know of hardly any « famous last words » of Medieval individuals, for example, it is because their foremost concern was not to leave a statement for the world, but rather to die in faith and charity, and because the proper words to utter on the deathbed were the prayers supplied by Medieval *ars moriendi* handbooks. The few reported exceptions almost invariably concern people who were claimed to have died bad deaths, who had died cursing or even blaspheming — as the French crown princess

9. Craig Wright, « Dufay at Cambrai : Discoveries and Revisions », *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975), p. 175-229, at p. 219.

Margaret of Scotland was alleged to have done : « *Fy de la vie ! Ne m'en parlez plus* ¹⁰ ». Such an ending was horrifying by Medieval standards.

Jean de Saint Gille anticipates his own final moments — that no-man's land between the last sacraments and death itself — in lines 61-72. Being still of sound mind and memory, but not knowing what state he may be in when death approaches, he states his firm resolve to die in the Catholic faith, no matter what false illusions, phantoms, or visions may come to visit him in future. For now, that is the only thing he can do :

Affirming [my intention] to live and die without violating or abandoning the Faith of God Omnipotent as the Church teaches it. Whatever abuse, whatever illusion or phantom, vision or disturbance of mind, through sickness or otherwise, the Enemy, my adversary, may wish to visit upon me with his false and diabolical art, I wish to die a true Catholic.

As for Jean's mortal remains, it was customary for testators to specify their own burial site, and for good reason. At the end of time all Christians hoped to rise from their graves in the company of the people they knew, their friends, colleagues, and family, and so they wanted to be buried close together, either in the churchyard or, if they could afford it, in a family or confraternity chapel. It was especially advantageous to be buried in the direct proximity of a saint — perhaps not the saint's entire body, which Medievals rarely left in one piece, but a relic, such as enshrined in an altar, might do very well. No one, after all, wanted to risk eternal damnation just because their patron saint was not nearby enough to plead their case. Dufay, for example, chose to be buried near the altar of Saint Stephen in Cambrai Cathedral, one of several saints with whom he seems to have felt a personal affinity. Jean de Saint Gille, in the course of a long section devoted to his own funeral rites, asks to be buried near the chapel of Saint Egidius in Rouen Cathedral. And while Dufay had an elaborate tombstone carved, which still survives today, Jean is content with a simple inscription, in which he styles himself « Jean de Saint Gille, priest, once tenorist in this noble church » (lines 101-114) :

Item, for a grave in which to leave my body to rot, I choose, if I die in this city, a place near the chapel of Saint Egidius in the Church of Our Lady, commending to him my body and my soul, for which [burial] I leave one *escu pour demy-henricque* to the church fabric. And on my grave, in this consecrated place, shall be written what follows :

YOU WHO WALK UPON THIS GREY STONE
WHERE LIES AND SLEEPS J. DE SAINT GILLE, PRIEST,
ONCE TENORIST IN THIS NOBLE CHURCH,
PRAY FOR HIM, THAT HE MAY DWELL IN PARADISE.

Jean de Saint Gille's invitation to pray for him brings us to another major concern of his testament. Up to now, what we have seen is the composer's preparations for Judgement Day, the Second Coming, the end

10. Paula Higgins, « Parisian Nobles : A Scottish Princess, and the Woman's Voice in Late Medieval Song », *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), p. 145-200, at 159.

of time. But the timing of that day was unknown, and could not be predicted. Where, then, did souls reside in the indefinite period before the Second Coming ?

Medieval believers had a clear picture of what would await their souls after death, thanks to that veritable guidebook to the afterlife, the *Pèlerinage de l'âme* (c. 1355-1358) of Jehan de Digulleville. This book was immensely popular in the late Middle Ages : it survives in numerous manuscripts and prints, and was translated into English, Dutch, German, and other European languages. Significantly, a copy of Digulleville's treatise is listed even among the books owned by Guillaume Dufay, underlining his already well-documented preoccupation with death and salvation ¹¹. As an educated cleric, Jean de Saint Gille, too, would surely have been familiar with this text.

The *Pèlerinage de l'âme* is a long poetic narrative of the kind that must have helped to pass so many long winter nights in the Middle Ages. Written entirely in the first person, it begins right away with the narrator's death, and then follows the soul's pilgrimage after it has left the body. The first being to greet the soul in the afterworld is his worst enemy, the Devil himself, who immediately tells him that the game is up, and that he must spend the rest of eternity as the prisoner of Satan. Mercifully, however, the soul's guardian angel arrives just in time to intervene. He reminds Satan that there is such a thing as due process in Heaven, that even the worst sinner is entitled to have his day in court. After some heated discussion, the Devil reluctantly agrees that he must abide by the outcome of a fair trial. Together with the guardian angel he conducts the hapless soul — who has now effectively become a defendant — to a law court whose presiding judge is the Archangel Saint Micheal. (Clearly, it is not without significance that Saint Michael was the third heavenly being, after God and the Virgin Mary, to whom Jean de Saint Gille commended his soul, nor that his guardian angel was the fourth.)

The court of Saint Michael, as described in the *Pèlerinage de l'âme*, resembles in every respect the typical Medieval court of law, with defendants and their guardians waiting in the corridors, with lawyers and prosecutors busily entering and leaving, and court officials making their announcements. When finally, after a long wait, it is the narrator's turn to be led inside the court room, he is dismayed to discover that the prosecutor is none other than Lucifer in very person, and that the latter — exactly as Jean de Saint Gille had anticipated in his testament — is the one who brings his complaints against him. In a lengthy and hateful indictment, the Devil describes our narrator as the vilest and most despicable sinner of all, as a man so burdened by foul and reprehensible misdeeds as to be forever beyond the hope of salvation. A skillful prosecutor, Satan manages to make it appear as if condemnation is already a certainty, that it is a waste of the court's time, if not an affront, to allow so wicked an offender the opportunity of a response, or even an appeal to mercy or leniency. Surely,

11. C. Wright, art. cit., p. 216 and 218 : « Item pour j livre en papier contenant le pelerinage de l'ame en rime, xxiiij sous. »

he claims, reason and justice cry out for this mortal to be delivered immediately to the flames of Hell.

When the prosecutor finally rests his case, all eyes in the courtroom turn to the narrator who, upon hearing this tirade, is overcome by mortal dread, unable to speak and at a complete loss as to what to do. He finds himself all alone now : even the guardian angel remains silent. Yet speak he must — or so the guardian reminds him : it is up to him to respond to the articles of the indictment and to defend his case. And if he is unable to do so, he should at least try to find an advocate who might plead the case on his behalf.

Yet who to turn to at this moment ? Who would be willing to step forward as his advocate ? Was it not true that lawyers charge hefty fees for their labor, that they would not even begin to consider the case of a poor man like him unless they had been paid handsomely in advance ? When it came to advance payment, had he, in fact, secured the assistance of any saints during his lifetime, by paying them such dues as even a poor man could afford : by offering his prayers, by venerating at their shrines, and rendering acts of worship ? It is questions like these that besiege him now, in a passage whose resonances can still be heard in Jean de Saint Gille's references to *advouez* and *advocas*¹² :

Quant d'avocat ouï parler,
Je commencai moult a penser,
S'aucun point servi avoie,
Car en verité savoie
Qu'avocat n'est pas si nice
Que point plaide sens service.
Pour povre homme nul ne plaide,
Tousjours est sa cause laide
A plaideur qui a semblance
A languete de ballance :
Tousjours se trait au plus pesant
Et le mendre pese fuiant.

[...]
Toutesvoies lors pensoie
Que nul advocat n'aroie,
Car je n'avoie que donner,
Et quant je souloie habunder,
Je n'en avoie nul servi
Et n'avoie point accompli
Ce qui en Job en est escript
Ou la sainte escripture dit :
A aucun saint converti toi.
Ton advocat sera, ce croi.

And when I herd hym speken of an aduocate,
I gan to bythenke to me yf euer I had seruyd
ony seynt whiche at this dystresse wold take
my cause on honde ; for wel I wist that aduo-
cates be not so nyce for to pleden ony mannys
cause withouten that it be deseruyd, other
elles that they stonde in hope to be rewardyd
after. But as for so poure a man as I, there
wold none aduocate pleden without wages
paid byfore in honde ; for pledours in worldly
courtes hauen tonges lyke to the languet of the
balaunce that draweth hym alwey to the more
peysaunt party, that better wyl rewarden.

[...]
But thenne, I bethought me that no thyng had
I to geuen myne aduocate, ne I ne had in my
lyf no seynt seruid in specyall, to whome by
counseyl of Job I myght torne my self to
prayen to take my quarel on hond, after these
wordes : *Ad aliquem sanctorum conuertere.*

12. *Le pèlerinage de l'âme*, l. 711-722 and 729-738. After Guillaume de Deguileville, *Le pèlerinage de l'âme*, ed. J. J. Stürzinger (London : Nichols & Sons, 1895), p. 29-30, and id., *The Booke of the Pylgremage of the Sowle*, ed. Katherine Isabella Cust (London : Basil Montagu Pickering, 1859), p. 11.

The warning in this passage would not have been lost on Jean de Saint Gille and his contemporaries. If his testament singles out two special advocates to defend his case — his name saints, John and Egidius — we may take it that the composer had already seen to it, throughout his life, that they be properly rewarded for the services they might one day be called upon to render. In this respect, too, Jean de Saint Gille's testament must have represented the last step in a longer process of preparation. If he felt ready to name his advocates in this document, it can only be because he had already paid them as much as he humanly could.

The Court of Saint Michael was a lower court, authorized only to make up the initial balance between virtues and sins, and passing judgement accordingly. There were three possible verdicts available to the judge. Those mortals who had died without any sin were saved already, and could be admitted immediately to Heaven. Those whose burden of sin was too heavy to be saved were condemned to the everlasting fires of Hell. Neither of these sentences was expected to be overturned even by the Supreme Court, at the end of time. Yet there was a third possible verdict, which was more of a conditional nature : it concerned those mortals who were in principle saved, yet still had a balance of sins to purge away. These were sentenced neither to Heaven nor to Hell, but to Purgatory, a place of torment and suffering from which they would be released only after they had fully paid off their debt of sin.

Most people in the Middle Ages had a credible chance of escaping eternal damnation, but few had any illusion that they would not get to know Purgatory from the inside. This is the fate, for example, that had befallen Hamlet's father, due to his untimely and unprepared death (*Hamlet*, I. v. 9-16) :

GHOST.

I am thy father's spirit,
Doom'd for a certaine terme to walke the night ;
And for the day confin'd to fast in fiers,
Till the foule crimes done in my dayes of nature
Are burnt and purg'd away. But that I am forbid
To tell the secrets of my prison-house ;
I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word
Would harrow vp thy soule, freeze thy young blood

The narrator of Jean de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme* likewise ends up being sentenced to Purgatory — despite the bitter protestations of the Devil, who feels cheated of yet another soul. The Provost of the Court of Saint Michael tells him, at the end of Book One, that he must take up his *fardel* of sin — literally, his load or burden — and go to Purgatory to burn it away until he is purged of all his sins : ¹³

13. *Le pèlerinage de l'âme*, l. 2571-2584 and 2595-2596 ; ed. cit., p. 89-90 ; *The Booke of the Pylgremage of the Sowle*, ed. cit., p. 42.

Si te dirai que [tu] feras
 Ton bourdon [tost] tu reprendas
 Et ton escherpe com devant,
 Et a Justice je comant
 Qu'elle te face ton fardel
 De tes pechies en ton troussel
 En la balance si vuidant
 Que point n'y ait de remanant.
 Cellui fardel tu porteras
 En purgatoire ou tu iras.
 La dedens feras tout ardoir,
 Et tant te faudra remanoir
 Ou feu ardant que bien purgies
 Tu soies de tous tes pechies
 [...]
 Or va et te depart de ci.
 C'est la sentence que te di.

Soo now shal I telle the what thou mote
 nedes do.
 Thou shalt take ageyne thy scrippe, and thy
 burdon, whiche thou haddest byfore.
 And here to dame Justyce I yeue in ful
 charge that she trusse thy fardel of al thy
 wretchyd synnes, whiche Sathanas hath
 putt in the balaunce.
 This fardel shalt thou bere in purgatorye,
 and there shalt thou brenne it, and soo
 longe must thou there abyde tyl it be al
 wasted, and thou clene purged of al thy
 fowle synnes
 [...]
 This is thy sentence and thy Jugement ;
 spedde the fast hennes, that this were per-
 fourmed ryght as I haue the seyde.

Fortunately, the pains and torments of Purgatory were not the only means by which the dead could be relieved of their *fardels* of sins. Prayers by the living — such as invited by Jean de Saint Gille on his tombstone — were also known to be efficacious. And there was much that could be done in advance : the material goods gathered in a lifetime, if properly spent and invested in the last will, could go a long way to shortening time in Purgatory. Acts of charity, acts of devotion, commemoration services, all these could be set up and arranged in the testament, and paid for by possessions that could not be taken into the grave in any case. A good portion of Jean de Saint Gille's Last Will is devoted to doing exactly this. Among these manifold provisions, there is one that immediately leaps to the eye. It comes in lines 177-186 :

After all that is done and accomplished, I beg the singers of Rouen, who are Cosme Vatel, Graindor Aquart, Cardin Lorin, Raulin Bouchard, Cauvet, and several of the boys, to sing the Mass for the departed that I have composed — if their voices are well disposed — and for doing this I give them a pour-boire of one *écu d'or couronne*.

It is a passage of extraordinary interest. Jean de Saint Gille sets up arrangements for a Requiem Mass, to be celebrated in commemoration of himself and of all the departed : « pour les trespasés la messe », as he says, a literal translation of *Missa pro defunctis*. This Mass is to be sung by the choirboys together with five of his fellow-singers¹⁴. More importantly, the Requiem Mass is to be sung in polyphony, and Jean himself has composed the music for that purpose. He was, in other words, a

14. Alas, only one of these singers can be identified from other sources : Raulin or Raoulin Bouchart, who is named as organist in all the fabric accounts preserved for the church of Saint-Maclou in Rouen in that period, for the years 1476-1479, 1511-1514 and 1517-1520 (where his successor, Thomas Bonnefille, is also named) ; see *Inventaire sommaire, op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 276-278, quoting the registers ADSM G 6878, G 6879 and G 6880.

composer — though sad to say, if any of his works have come down to us, they must have survived anonymously : not a note of his music is known today. The lucky recipient of Jean de Saint Gille's musical legacy, as we learn from lines 261-266, was his nephew Paul Corru, who was called upon to pray for Jean as well :

As for my books of music, and the other books in my shop, weighing altogether a thousand pounds, I leave them to Pol, my nephew, to whom I beseech, with well-chosen words, that he will pray for those who have collected it.

The known œuvre of Jean de Saint Gille, then, consists of altogether one Requiem Mass, now lost. Masses for the Dead were not especially common in the fifteenth century, and from our perspective, at least, the genre seems to have had a slow start¹⁵. In my recent monograph *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe*, I have outlined what appear to have been the principal reasons for this¹⁶. Although individual works of music may have carried various meanings, depending on the purpose they were meant to serve, polyphony — as a general category of music — was universally associated with joy and festivity. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, as the rather joyless spirit of pre-reformist zeal began to exert itself in Europe, there quickly opened up room for the claim that polyphony was unsuitable in church for precisely that reason. This claim became a matter of debate (to put it mildly), and that debate, as I have argued, changed contemporary views of music in fundamental ways.

Still, when it came to services for the dead, which were by definition associated with mourning and sadness, even those who favored polyphony agreed that elaborate contrapuntal display might sometimes be inappropriately festive. A good example of this may be found in the accounts of the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch. In 1531, the singers employed by this brotherhood had proposed to celebrate the quarterly Requiem Masses henceforth with polyphony, and the administrators agreed that this might indeed be worth a try. After hearing the service performed in this way, however, they decided against the idea. Somehow, the treasurer noted in his entry, this was felt to be an inappropriate way to honor the dead who were enduring their torments in Purgatory¹⁷ :

the singers had desired to sing the Mass in polyphony to find out how we would like that practice [...] but some [among the confraternity members] did not particularly care for it, they praised the old manner [plainchant], and so do I : for that is a more fitting manner for the dead. Therefore, not again.

15. Cf. Eleanor Russell, « The 'Missa in agendis mortuorum' of Juan Garcia de Basurto : Johannes Ockeghem, Antoine Brumel, and An Early Spanish Polyphonic Requiem Mass », *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 29 (1979), p. 1-37.

16. For this and what follows, see Rob C. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470-1530* (New York : Routledge, 1995 ; paperback edn. with revisions, New York : Routledge, 2007).

17. *Ibid.*, p. 32 and 199 n.39.

As we can tell from this example, a composer who wrote a Requiem Mass could not be assured that it would be readily performed. There had to be a concrete occasion for him to compose such a setting, and the obvious place for such an occasion to be set up is a testament. Strangely enough, however, there are very few testaments from this period in which polyphony is specifically called for in Requiem services. Before death, yes : one could arrange for Masses in discant in honor of this or that saint. After death, no : the Requiems that came in the place of those Masses were to be sung almost invariably in plainchant. The best-known exception is Dufay's testament, which calls for a Requiem that was likewise written by the composer himself¹⁸. Two swallows do not make a summer, of course, but it is tempting to wonder how many other composers might have written their Requiem Masses for none other than themselves, following the examples of Guillaume Dufay and Jean de Saint Gille. It is a question worth pondering, although the first case that springs to mind — Ockeghem — is already so complicated that we may never really get beyond speculation. Ockeghem's setting, as many scholars have noted, exhibits such stylistic and notational diversity that it could easily have been the work of two composers, or, perhaps, of one composer at different points in his career. One can only hope that other surviving testaments may one shed light on the question.

Soul, body, and worldly possessions : in nearly 300 lines of rhymed French verse, Jean de Saint Gille disposed of all three. His last will, as we have seen, is several things at once. Like modern testaments, it is a document in which possessions change hands, in which the testator decides who will inherit what. It is also a record of his last wishes with regard to his funeral and final resting place, and, more generally, his last opportunity to leave a statement to the world. The « famous last words » of Medievals were, in fact, their testaments : once these had been drawn up, there was nothing else left for them to say. From this perspective, Jean de Saint Gille's decision to conceive his own testament as a poem could be read as part of his statement to posterity. If anything, it communicates a sense of pleasure, even joy, as he prepares for the final rite of passage of his life. Yet Jean's testament is also a spiritual document, an affirmation of his intention to live and die a faithful Christian, to commend his soul and his body to the heavenly company, in whose presence he hopes to spend eternity. Finally, and most basically, it is a notarial act, a legal document that would have had no validity unless he had signed it in the presence of at least two witnesses. On 1 September 1500, Jean was ready to do just that : he ratified his rhymed testament with a signature in his own hand (lines 229-240 ; cf. Fig. 2) :

18. For another exception, see the rhymed will of Jehan Reignier (1432) which appears to allude to the possibility of polyphonic performance of the Requiem as well : « Il me suffira d'une messe / De Requiem haulte chantée / Au cuer : me feroit grand liesse / Si être pouvoit déchantée ». After Jean Régnier, *Les fortunes et adversitez de Jehan Regnier*, ed. Eugénie Droz (Paris : Champion, 1923), p. 130. I am grateful to David Fiala for drawing my attention to this text.

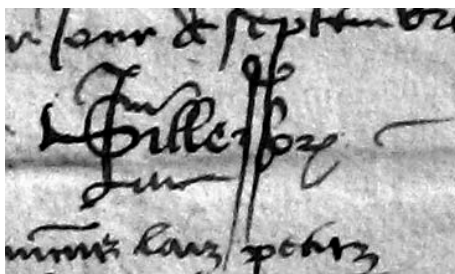


Figure 2. The signature of Jean de Saint Gille.
ADSM, G 3446, Cote 95, fifth unnumbered page.

Let it be known by all in general that I have signed this my present testament with my own signature, before taking medicine, in the presence of Jehan Aubert, J. Fleury, Jehan Francoys, Guillaume De Fry, Katherine, Nicole Osmond, priests, who make their residence, both night and day, evenings and mornings, in the Collège des Clementins, in the year 1500, if correctly I recall, on the first day of September. [signed :] J. S. Gille, priest.

It must have been a moment of great personal significance to Jean de Saint Gille, and it was undoubtedly concluded, like all such moments in the life of Medieval believers, with a festive meal in the company of friends and family.

Who was this man, Jean de Saint Gille, who left us so curious a testament ? If we wish to know more about the composer, we can access a tremendously rich source of information in the chapter acts of Rouen Cathedral. These have in fact quite a lot to reveal about the singers in the cathedral's employ — usually when they were in trouble. The Appendix 4 presents a list of some of the principal singers who feature in these chapter minutes. There are comparatively few musicians whose names we know from choral establishments elsewhere : only the composer Jean Fresneau, though he is not actually mentioned as a musician but rather as a canon. It makes sense to assume that Guillelmus de Orto was a close relative of the better-known Marbrianus, and likewise that Mathurin du Buisson was related to the French and Burgundian court singers Jehan and Georges du Buisson ¹⁹. And if Johannes Martin, who appears in the chapter minutes for three years, in 1472-1475, was identical with the composer Johannes Martini, it would add a stormy chapter to the latter's career, for this tenorist had a rare talent for infuriating the canons of the cathedral : he was repeatedly reprimanded and incarcerated for misconduct and insubordination. It is hard to be sure that he was the composer, though

19. Leeman L. Perkins, « Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422-1483) », *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), p. 507-66, at 555 ; David Fiala, « Le mécénat musical des ducs de Bourgogne et des princes de la maison de Habsbourg, 1467-1506 », 2 vols. (Ph. D. diss., Université de Tours, 2002), vol. 1, p. 416.

somewhat to my surprise I have found it impossible to find evidence to indicate unequivocally that Martini was at Ferrara before 1475. Martini's early Italian career deserves a thorough review.

The chapter acts of Rouen Cathedral offer numerous glimpses of what appears to have been a lively musical environment. A single essay would not suffice to do justice to the sheer human interest that lies buried in these registers. Still, before turning to Jean de Saint Gille himself, there are two documents that I cannot resist mentioning here. They both concern an aging canon by the name of Carolus Paon, a man who had undoubtedly been a choirboy early in his life, and clearly relished the good old days. His musical enthusiasm needed to be tempered somewhat, however, for in May 1483 complaints reached the chapter that Carolus was wont to sing along in counterpoint whenever the cathedral singers were doing their job (App. 3, Doc. 6) :

Item, *magister* Carolus Paon, when he is standing in the choir, often attempts to sing along with the other musician-singers, in the manner of counterpoint and otherwise, [and] frequently makes discord and hinders and confuses the singers, bringing occasion of sin and dishonor to the church.

The aforesaid lords, after due deliberation, have enjoined him, on a penalty to be decided, not to sing in disturbance in the choir with others any longer, which he promised to refrain from doing ²⁰.

Although silenced, undoubtedly to the great relief of the cathedral singers, Paon still seems to have felt a bond with the choirboys, and evidently loved idly conversing (*confabulare*) with them behind the high altar. Out of the goodness of his heart, he occasionally even gave them an apple or some other fruit. Yet complaints about this were quick to reach the chapter as well, as we learn two months later, on 11 July 1483 (App. 3, Doc. 7) :

Item, it has been reported of *magister* Carolus Paon that he has been accustomed to give infected and rotten apples and other [fruits] to the little choristers of this church, which cannot but bring harm to them, and likewise [that he] is in the habit of conversing with the same choristers behind the high altar.

In light of this report, the lords have ordered [Paon], on penalty of one shilling or some other [penalty] to be decided by the chapter, not to hand out or offer apples or other fruits to the choristers any longer, either in person or through others, nor, etc., to converse with them.

I am aware that there could be less charitable readings of this document, yet if anything inappropriate had been going on between Carolus Paon and the choirboys, we may take it that the chapter would have heard about more than just rotten apples, and would have taken rather stronger

20. This situation is echoed by a witty allusion in Jean de Saint Gille's testament, which specifies (lines 119-120) that the canons attending the funerals (les « seigneurs qui assisteront ») should receive thrice as much as the chaplains carrying Jean's body, as far as they remain silent (« troyz fois autant si se tai-ront »).

measures to discipline this canon. I have not come across any other complaints about Paon, who died in December 1491.

Let us turn finally to Jean de Saint Gille, and what little we can establish about his life. He must have been a native of the town of Falaise in Lower Normandy, some 140 kilometers south-west of Rouen, for several of the bequests in his testament are to churches and confraternities in this town (lines 244-252) :

And firstly to Falaise : to the honorable Confraternity of the Blessed Trinity, 5 sous, and the same amount to Saint Jaques. Six *karolus pour quatre plaques* must be sent in three parts : to Guibray, l'Hôtel-Dieu, and Saint François. To the confraternity of Saint Jerome, 5 sous, and the same to Saint Gervais.

Immediately after these lines Jean goes on to make bequests to three relatives, all of whom, we may assume, were still living in Falaise : his nephews Robert Gobin and Paul Corru, and his niece Barbe. The same must be true for the priests Auget and Eustace Feron, who may have been parish priests there.

Falaise, a charming town about 40 kilometers south-east of Caen, has had more than its share of the ravages of war — lastly so in the immediate aftermath of D-Day. Yet several of the churches mentioned by Jean de Saint Gille can still be admired, including Notre-Dame de Guibray and the beautiful parish church of Saint Gervais. And the town still boasts a major tourist attraction in the tenth-century castle of William the Conqueror. Confirmation that Jean de Saint Gille most probably originated from this area and was raised in that city can be deduced from a document kept in the Archives départementales de l'Orne at Alençon. This register of tonsures and ordinations in the diocese of Sées (under which Falaise fell) lists Jean de Saint de Gille first amongst the persons ordained by the bishop to the minor order of « acolyte » at Sées Cathedral on 1 March 1477 (n.st.), and confirms that he came from the parish of Saint-Gervais in Falaise ²¹.

The next known document about Jean de Saint Gille turns up in Brittany, in the city of Rennes. The chapter acts of Rennes Cathedral reveal that he had entered the church's service as a singer around the beginning of November 1479 (App. 2, Doc. 1). There are two further documents concerning him in the course of the year 1480, both having to do with special payments that required the chapter's approval (App. 2, Docs. 2 and 3). In none of these documents is there any indication that Jean was as yet an ordained priest, but four years later he must have attained that dignity : on 3 June 1484, in the context of yet another special payment, he is styled *dominus* Johannes de Sancto Egidio (App. 2, Doc. 4). We may reasonably conclude from this that the composer was born some

21. Archives départementales de l'Orne at Alençon, 1 G 39, unnumbered folio : « Ordinatio per dominum in sua ecclesia Sagiensi, die sabbati Quatuor Temporum post Invocavit, prima mensis martii anno domini M^o CCCC^o LXXVI^o. Acolita : Johannes de Saint Gille, Sancti Gervasii Falesie ».

time in the late 1450s, and was thus a direct contemporary of Obrecht, Agricola, Barbireau, and probably Josquin.

Document 4 also adds a piece of information that was not known from the records in Rouen : Jean carried the *alias* Lourdays, and in fact he appears simply as Jean Lourdays in the next and last known document from Rennes Cathedral. This chapter decision, made on 3 May 1485, records Jean's appointment as *magister psallete*, master of the choirboys, and spells out his remuneration and responsibilities (App. 2, Doc. 5). Jean de Saint Gille must have kept this position for more than three years, for his successor Petrus Matert was appointed in October 1488 — some eleven months before the composer himself turns up at Rouen.

Just as in Rennes, most of the documents concerning Jean de Saint Gille in Rouen are of a purely administrative nature, and need not detain us long : his appointment as chaplain in 1489 (App. 3, Doc. 8), various issues of remuneration (App. 3, Docs. 9-13, 18, 20 and 21), and, finally, his death (App. 3, Doc. 22). Two minor events do stand out, however. The first of these occurred in 1493. On 25 November of that year, the composer complained to the chapter of Rouen cathedral that two of his fellow-chaplains had hurled insults at him. The composer was apparently so distressed at this that he offered to resign as treasurer of the *Collège des Clémentins*. The chapter took his complaints extremely seriously, and launched a full inquiry (App. 3, Doc. 14) :

Magister Jean de Saint Gille, tenorist, provided an account of several insults hurled at him by some of the chaplains of his *Collège des Clémentins* — such that, to find an alternative way of providing for the same [college], at the pleasure of the chapter, he agrees to return the deniers of that college which he is keeping.

In light of this account, the lords of the chapter ordered that there should be a visitation of the foundation of said college, and that those who have insulted the same [Jean], to the dishonor to the chapter, be summoned, so that [the lords] may later provide for a remedy for him if that will be necessary.

The very next day, 26 November, the canons of Rouen Cathedral invited Jean de Saint Gille to give a fuller account of what had happened. During this interview he named two culprits : Guillaume Vallee, fellow-chaplain of the *Collège des Clémentins*, and *magister* Robert Fortis, chaplain of the *Collège d'Albane*. The first of these was immediately summoned before the chapter, yet denied all allegations. Vallee did admit that words had passed between Jean and himself, but maintained that he had not intended to insult the composer, even if some of what he had said might possibly be construed as having insulting undertones. The chapter quickly decided that Vallee was acting evasively — and not surprisingly, given that the words in question were alleged to have been « son of a whore » and « excommunicate » (App. 3, Doc. 15) :

Magister Jean de Saint Gille tenorist was heard regarding the complaint he has brought against dominus Guillaume Vallee, chaplain of the *Clémentins*, who had libelously called him « filz de putain » and [said] that he was excommunicated, and similarly against magister Robert Fortis, chaplain of

Albane, who had libelously stated that he was excommunicated, to the great dishonor of the same tenorist.

Thereafter the same Vallee was summoned, and he evasively denied to have insulted the same tenorist, even though some words, as he said, could have carried hidden injurious meanings.

The lords of the chapter finally pronounced that this should be investigated further, so as to let justice prevail.

Later on the same day, *magister* Robert Floris was invited to explain himself. He gave a similarly evasive reply, centering not on what words mean, or what effect they have on others, but with what intention they are uttered. Robert's strategy seems to have been effective, however, for the chapter felt unable to adjudicate on the matter, and decided that further inquiry was needed (App. 3, Doc. 16) :

On the same day, magister Robert Floris, chaplain of Albane, was interrogated concerning the insults reported of him by De Saint Gille, tenorist, and uttered by the same Fortis regarding the person of same tenorist, in saying that he was excommunicated, to the dishonor of the tenorist and of the whole chapter.

[Floris] replied that in the words alleged and [in those things] that the parties have against each other no insult was intended and, etc., to disown the words about which he was quarrelling.

Finally their lordships pronounced that the above would be more broadly enquired into, [Fortis] having been exhorted in future to guard against uttering insults.

Whatever the outcome of this enquiry, two days later yet another chaplain seems to have lost his temper with Jean de Saint Gille — and in the choir of the cathedral at that. The alleged culprit this time was Robert des Quesnes, chaplain of the *Collège des Clémentins*. He, too, was summoned before the chapter, on 29 November, yet his response was a great deal more straightforward than that of his colleagues : rather than claiming that he had *intended* no insult, he swore on his soul that he had uttered none (App. 3, Doc. 17) :

An account was rendered of the alleged insults, yesterday in the choir, the reliefs [?] had and uttered by dominus Robert des Quesnes, chaplain of the Clementines, regarding the person of magister Jean de Saint Gille, tenorist, then nearest to him, to the dishonor of the church and of the whole chapter. Having summoned and heard them, Des Quesnes, swearing on his soul, denied to have said anything unfavorable about him.

The lords decided in the end to be informed more fully of the causes through their listeners, enjoining them not to launch insults or quarrels, on pain of excommunication, imprisonment, and 40 lb. t.

Whatever the truth of the matter, all insults must have been uttered in the absence of witnesses, which is surely why the cathedral chapter was unable to assign blame and to impose penalties. All they could do, in the end, was look into the causes for these quarrels. If the canons found out what these were, however, they have left no record of them in their chapter minutes.

The second incident, some three years later, is no less puzzling. There is only one chapter decision to tell us about it, and it was recorded on 26 May 1496 : for some unknown reason Jean de Saint Gille had stopped singing polyphony, either by not singing along with his colleagues or by not turning up to the services altogether. If he was brought before the chapter to explain himself, he evidently was unable to supply a good reason — such as, for example, illness, or personal hardship of some kind — for he ended up receiving a severe reprimand. After this we never hear any complaints again (App. 3, Doc. 19) :

Magister Jean de Saint Gilles, tenorist, has been witnessed, on many solemn and festal days, to show contempt for the service of the church, and has left off singing in motets, Patrem, and other [chants] that require discant.

He was severely enjoined to serve the church henceforth devoutly and worthily, otherwise the lords shall make other provisions.

Four years after this incident Jean de Saint Gille drew up his last will. He formally ratified it on 25 November 1501, which happened to be the day before his death : as we learn from Document 22, Jean passed from this world the next morning. It is a life that might have appeared to us unremarkable, had it not been for a testament that is unlike any other kept at Rouen, or indeed anywhere else, and for at least one compositional effort that we now know of. At the same time, the trail of this intriguing figure grows cold very quickly, and if we want to have a clearer sense of what his daily life would have been like, we would need to take a closer look at musical life in the cathedral as a whole. In the present article I have offered some glimpses of that life — enough, I hope, to suggest that the existing literature on music in late-Medieval Rouen is seriously inadequate, and that the archives would richly reward renewed enquiry. Such enquiry, I hope, might place Jean de Saint Gille and his curious testament in informative historical relief, and hopefully suggest answers to several of the questions that yet remain.

Appendix 1

Testament of Jean de Saint Gille
Rouen, ADSM, G 3446, Cote 95
(signed 1 Sept. 1500 ; ratified 25 Nov. 1501)

Testamentum magistri Johannis de Sancto Gille, capellani Clementinorum et tenoriste ecclesie, rithmice compositum.

*In nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus
Sancti. Amen.*

A tous qui ces lectres verront
Et orront, et ung jour mourront,
Salut. Je leur faiz acongnoistre
Que je, Jehan de Saint Gille, prestre,

5 Pourveu et deument entretins

En Collège des Clementins,
Considerant que ceste vie
Chacun jour decline et desvie,
Et n'est que choze transitoire,

10 Dont tant qu'ay bon sens et

memoire

Ma conscience me remort
 Qu'il n'est si certain que la mort,
 Ne rien plus incertain que l'eure,
 Par quoy je veil ains que je meure
 15 Ordonner mon petit estat,
 Non voullant mourir intestat
 Des biens que Dieu, mon createur,
 M'a fait comme a son serviteur.

Auquel mon ame recommande
 20 De tout mon cuer, et luy demande
 Grace et pardon de tous mailfaiz,
 Qu'en ce monde ay commis et faiz.
 A Marie de grace planiere
 Me recline soubz sa baniere,
 25 Affin que pour moy intercede
 S'ennemy contre moy procede.
 Car elle est mere de concorde,
 De pitié, et misericorde,
 Et n'est si grant pecheur en monde,
 30 Tant soit il ort, vil, et immonde,
 S'il la requiert de cuer parfait
 Que son péché ne soit deffait
 Et remis en estat de grace,
 Amen pour moy qu'ainxi se face.
 35 Saint Michiel et les benoiz anges,
 Cherubins, Seraphins, Archanges,
 Thrones, et Dominacions,
 Soient pour moy aux temptacions
 De l'ennemy qui me pourchasse
 40 Jour et nuyt mectre hors de grace.
 Singulierement mon bon ange
 Me soit begnin non pas estrange
 Du quel je prie au createur
 Qu'il me soit garde et protecteur.
 45 Mes advouez que je reclame
 Deffendent mon corps et mon ame
 Que l'ennemy ne les mutille
 L'un est Saint Jehan, l'autre est

Saint Gille,

Desquieulx porte nom et sournom,
 50 *Insuper* ceulx du saint canon.
 Et qu'on chante en la letanie,
 Tous ensemble par compaignie,
 Je leur supply d'avoir le soing
 De mon ame ad ce grant besoing.
 55 En general, je recommande,
 Tant soit l'acort de la sus grande,
 Ma povre ame a tous sains et saintes
 S'aucun contre moy fait ses plaintes
 Et constitue mes advocas
 60 Pour deffendre mon piteux cas.

Protestant de vivre et mourir
 Sans enfreindre ne encourir
 La foy de Dieu omnipotent
 Ainxi que l'Eglise l'entent,
 65 Quelque abus, quelque illusion,
 Quelque fantosme ou vision,
 Ou perturbe d'entendement,
 Par maladie ou aultrement,
 Que l'ennemy mon adversaire
 70 Me voudra procurer et faire
 Par son faulx art diabolicque,
 Je vieul mourir vray catholicque.

Item, je viel que mes forffaiz
 Soient amendez s'aulchuns ay faiz,
 75 Et mes doibtes poyez aussi,
 C'est raison qu'il soit fait ainxi.
 Suppliant mes executeurs
 Qui de mes biens sont conducteurs
 S'ilz voient mes membres amortiz
 80 Tendre *in agonia mortis*
 Pour plus seurement me conduyre
 Qu'ilz facent celebrer et dire
 Ce qu'il s'ensuyt pour ma povre

ame :

Du Saint Esprit, de Nostre Dame,
 85 Des Anges, Saint Jehan et Saint
Gille.
De la Crois, de Sainte Cecille,
Sainte Barbe, des trespassez,
 Pourveu qu'il y ait temps assez.
 Et affin que Dieu inmortel
 90 Ait pitié de son corps mort tel
 Et ses maulx et pechés allege,
 A huyt chapelaincz du College
 Je ordonne bailler quatre libvres
 Moyennant de luyre en leurs livres
 95 Le psautier du royal prophète,
 Et apres la psalmodie faicte
 Du noble et service divin
 Six blancs pour avoir pain et vin,
Hoc est si mon vin ordinaire
 100 Ne leur est assez bon pour boyre.

Item, j'esliz ma sepulture,
 Pour mon corps mettre a
 pourriture,
 Se je trespasse en ceste ville,
 Pres la chapelle de Saint Gille
 105 En l'eglise de Nostre Dame :
 Luy recommandant corps et ame,
 Par quoy je laisse a la fabricque
 Ung escu pour demy henricque.

- Et sera mis sus mon sepulchre
110 Ce qu'il s'ensuyt en lieu de sucre :
- VOUS QUI MARCHEZ SUS CESTE
ROCHE BIZE,
OU GIST ET DORT J. DE SAINT
GILLE, PRESBTRE,
JADIS TENEUR EN CESTE NOBLE
EGLISE,
PRIEZ POUR LUY, QU'EN PARADIS
PUISSE ESTRE.
- 115 *Item*, pour convoyer mon corps,
Aux chapelains tant ens que hors
L'abit de l'eglise portant,
Douze deniers poyez contant ;
Aux seigneurs qui assisteront
120 Troys foyz autant si se tayront.
Lendemain de l'enterrement
Soit fait selon l'ordonnement
Qui s'ensuyt et que je devise :
Les quatre hospitaux de l'eglise
125 Clement, Esprit, Der et Albane
Par ainxi que on y comprendre
Les choreaux, *cum septem psalmis*,
Et bons enfans *cum vigiliis*,
L'un jour apres l'aultre par ordre
130 Officiront sans nul desordre
En leurs chapelles ordinaires,
Baillant ornemens lumineux
Telz qu'ilz ont pour estre allumé
Ainxi qu'il est acoustumé.
135 Puys chanteront sans nulle faulte
Vigilles et la messe haulte
Du temps, ou ce qu'il leur plaira.
Ce fait, chanteront *Libera*,
Et *Deus cui proprium*,
140 *Inclina et Fidelium*.
Ausquieulx je laisse pour ce faire
Neuf libvres pour les satisfaire,
Dont suyt la distribucion
Ainxi qu'est mon intencion :
145 Aux Clementins soizante soulz,
A Dernestal quinze au dessoubz,
Albane ung escu couronne,
Au Saint Esprit vint solz ordonne,
Aux choristes et bons enfans
150 Chacun dix solz. Somme : neuf
frans.
Et tantdiz qu'on fera l'office
De ce noble et divin service
Soizante quinze solz je laisses
Pour dire trente basses messes
- 155 Qui seront parties par journées
Ainxi que les ay ordonnées,
En la magniere qui s'ensuyt :
Clementins dix, Dernestal huyt,
Albane six, Saint Esprit quatre.
160 Le reste sera sans debatre
Aux bons enfans et aux choristes
Durant vigilles et sept psalmistes
Une messe a chacun office.
Après le quatriesme service
165 Les colleges s'assembleront
Es lieux que bon leur sembleront
Comme a Saint Jehan ou a Saint
Gilles
En quel lieu chanteront vigilles
Et la messe a haulte voix
170 Pour sept livres dix solz tournoys.
Item, soizante et quinze soulz
Pour chanter messes au dessoubz
Et au bout de chacun service,
Affin que Dieu me soit propice,
175 Aux povres soit party soudain
Pour deulx soulz et demy de pain.
Tout cela fait et acomply,
Aux chantres de Rouen supply,
Cosme Vatel, Graindor Aquart,
180 Cardin, Lorin, Raulin Bouchard,
Cauvet, et des enfans assez,
De chanter pour les trespassés
La messe qua j'ay compozée,
Si leur voix est bien dispozée,
185 Et en ce faisant je leur donne
Pour boyre ung escu d'or
couronne.
Et pour acomplir et parfaire
Et subvenir audit affaire,
Cent livres du moins je retiens,
190 Sus tant que puys avoir de biens.
Item, soit baillé une ffoys
Au Pape diz livres tournoys,
Qui seront mis, c'est mon entente,
Et employez en bonne rente
195 Pour dire a perpetuité,
Le jour de la Nativité
De Saint Jehan et le jour Saint
Gille,
Messe basse en commun stille,
Servie par l'un des serviteurs
200 Ainxi que nos predecesseurs
Et s'en mon temps ne l'acomply

- Soit fait apres, je le supply.
 Le residu s'aulchun demeure
 De mes biens, s'il fault que je meure
 205 Premier que ma seur Guillemine,
 Je veil, ordonne, et determine,
 Pour abreger en tel matiere,
 Qu'elle ayt je l'en faiz heritiere.
- Item*, pour l'acomplissement
 210 De ce mon present testament,
 Mes executeurs d'une part,
 J'esliz messire Jehan Hauvedart,
 Michiel Bonnet, Le Boulengier,
 Mon . . . [*space left blank*]
 215 Et . . . [*space left blank*]
 Ausquieulx donne pour abregier
 Plaine auctorité et puissance
 D'executer mon ordonnance,
 Sans la diminuer en riens,
 220 Pourveu qu'il y ait assez biens ;
 Pour quoy leur donne de bon ceur
 Pour leur paine, charge, et labeur,
 Chacun ung escu d'or de poys,
 Et de boyre a chacune foys
 225 Qu'ilz pourvoyront de mon estat,
 Quatre ou cinq soulz sans nul
 debat.
 Et que tout soit bien aprouvé
 Sans estre mensongier trouvé.
- Sachent tous generalement
 230 Que ce mon present testament
 Ay signé de mon propre signe,
 Avant que prende medicine,
 Presens Jehan Aubert, J. Fleury,
 Jehan Francoys, Guillaume De Fry,
 235 Katherine, Nicole Osmond,
 Prestres qui residence font,
 Nuyt et jour et soirs et matins,
 En College des Clementins,
 Mil cinq cens, se bien me remembre,
 240 Et le premier jour de septembre.
 [*signed*] J. S. Gille presbyter
- Enssuyvent aucuns laiz petitz
 Que je ordonne a mon apetitz
 Tandis qu'ay le ceur a mon aise.
- Et premierement a Fallaise :
 245 A l'honorable charité
 De la benoiste Trinité
 Cinq soulz, et autant a Saint
 Jacques ;
- Six karolus pour quatre plaques
 Soient departis et mis en troys :
 250 Guybray, l'Ostel-Dieu, Saint
 Francoys.
 A la confrairie Saint Jeroisne
 Cinq solz, et Sainct Gervais de
 mesme.
- A mon nepveu, Robert Gobin,
 Pour faire avec luy une fin
 255 De quinze frans qu'il m'a presté
 Il aura, je l'ay apointé,
 Six cuilliers d'argent, deux sallieres
 En leurs estuys et sarpillieres,
 Comme souvent luy ay promis,
 260 Et pour ce quitte et bons amys.
- Touchant mes livres de musique,
 Et autres qu'ay en ma boutique,
 A Pol, mon nepveu, je les livres,
 Et pesassent ilz mille livres,
 265 Au quel je pry par mos exquis
 Qu'il prie pour ceulx qui l'ont
 acquiz.
- A Barbe, ma filleulle et niepce,
 Ung noble d'or en une piece,
 Lit garny, douze serviettes,
 270 Deux tenailles en œuvre faictes,
 Dix livres d'ouvrage d'aestain,
 Et autant d'ouvrage d'aerain.
- Au prebstre Auget, s'il n'y a presse,
 Le meilleur bonnet de ma presse,
 275 L'autre a messire Eustace Feron,
 Pour mettre souzb son chaperon.
- Enssuyvent les frairies de Rouen,
 A Sainctz Cosme et Damien,
 A Sainct Fiacre et Sainct
 Rommain,
 280 Chacun cinq solz avant la main.
- Enssuyt les laiz particuliers,
 Soient a prebstres ou seculiers :
 A messire Jaques le Bourgoys
 Ma chainture escripte en boudoys,
 285 Ma gibessiere a clou d'argent,
 A Guiffart pour estre plus gent,
 A Fleury, prebstre, curé de Huz,
 Mon tablier vert luy est bien deubz.

Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo primo, die vero xxv^a novembris, predictus testator ratificavit et approbavit suum hoc presens testamentum coram me, Johanne Hauvedart, presbytero ; insuper et cum aliis duobus suis predictis executoribus, nominavit et ordinavit suos executores, videlicet dominum Johannem Delastelle, presbyterum, et Paulum Corru, nepotem suum, conditionibus et modis omnibus prout supra, presentibus testibus dominis Guillelmo Vallet, Johanne Aubert, Nicolao Boullart, presbyteris, Johanne le Barbier et Nicolao le Terrier, ad hoc specialiter vocatis. [*signed* :] J. Hauvedart.

Appendix 2

Documents from the Chapter Acts of Rennes Cathedral, 1479-1485.
Rennes, Archives départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine (ADIV), 1G199.

Document 1. ADIV 1G199, fol. 107v (9 Feb. 1480 n.st.)

[*in margin* : pro Johanne de Sancto Egidio, cantore]

Anno predicto domini M^o CCCC^o LXXIX^o, die nona mensis februarii, venerabiles domini capitulantes ecclesie predicte Redonensis in capitulo, presentibus venerabilibus dominis magistris Egidio de Riparia [de la Rivière], archidiacono, Johanne Despinay, scolastico, et canonicis Bertrando de Coetlogon, Johanne Duloquet, et Johanne Bouedrier, ecclesie predicte canonicis capitulantibus, etc., ordinarunt quod dictus magister Petrus Frain, eorum prepositus, solvat Johanni de Sancto Egidio, cantori, pro quarterio finito ad festum Purificacionem ultimum preteritum, quatuor libri pro baccalariatu, pro orologio, et ordinacione domini capituli statu suo ascendens, volentes prout michi retulerunt ad sexdecim libras pro anno, videlicet, pro baccalariatu sex libras, pro orologio LX scutos, et de dono VII libras.

Document 2. ADIV 1G199, fol. 108v (28 Apr. 1480)

[*in margin* : pro Johanne de Sancto Egidio, cantore]

Anno predicto domini M^o CCCC^{mo} LXXX^o, die veneris vicesima octava mensis aprilis, prefati domini capitulantes ecclesie Redonensis ordinarunt in capitulo, presentibus prefatis magistris Johanne Despinay, scolastico, Roberto Ferre, Bertrando de Coetlogon, Georgio de Riparia, Johanne Duloquet, Johanne Bouedrier, et P. Mehaud, canonicis ecclesie predicte capitulantibus, etc., quod dictus Frain, predictus prepositus, solvat Johanni de Sancto Egidio, cantori, super gaigiis suis summam centum solidorum monete usualis.

Document 3. ADIV 1G199, fol. 116v (8 Sept. 1480)

[*in margin* : donum de gracia Johanni de Sancto Egidio, cantori]

Item, anno predicto, die sabbato prius festum nativitatis beatissime Marie Virginis, prefati domini capitulantes ecclesie Redonensis in capitulo, presentibus presentibus [*sic*] prefatis magistris Roberto Despinay, thesaurario, Egidio de Riparia, archidiacono, et canonicis Johanne Holier, G. de Riparia, Johanne Duloquet, et Johanne Bouedrier, ecclesie predicte Redonensis canonicis capitulantibus, etc., ordinarunt de gracia solvi, per dictum prepositum, Johannem de Sancto Egidio, cantori, pro una tunica, centum solidum.

Document 4. ADIV 1G199, fol. 189r (3 June 1484)

[*in margin* : pro Lourdays, cantori]

Item tradere domino Johanni de Sancto Egidio alias Lourdays, cantori, summam viginti solidorum et decem denariorum per eosdem dominos capitulantes donatam de gratia dicto Johanni.

Document 5. ADIV 1G199, fol. 194v (3 May 1485)

[*in margin* : institutio magistri psalleti]

Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo quinto, die tertia mensis maii, in capitulo ecclesie Redonensis presentibus magistris Egidio de Riparia, archidiacono, Roberto Ferre, Johanne Depertunay, B. Decreton, Johanne Duloquet, Johanne Bouedrier, Johanne le Veyer, et P. Michaud, canonicis capitulantes, domini capitulantes instituerunt in magistrum psalleti ecclesie Redonensis dominum Johannem Lourdays, presbyterum, et promiserunt ipsi domini capitulantes solvere quolibet anno eidem magistro psalleti pro quarterio anni pro quolibet anno viii^{xx} lb. et fient solvendo in principio cuiquelibet quarterii. Et tenebit idem magister ix pueros, et eos furniet competenter de victualibus, igne, lecto, et [...]bis vestimentis, demptis magnis tunicis, camisiis, et superciliis de habitibus ipse magister eos non furniet. Et eos pueros instruere tenebitur in musica, et faciet eos instrui in generalibus etc. Et in illis octo viginti libris quinquaginta puerorum computabuntur. Et fuit ordinatum quod presentialiter eidem magistro tradantur quadraginta libre monete quars. Idem de Riparia nomine domini Johannis Bretaingne, prepositi, et pro eo tradidit eidem Lourdays, et confessus fuit idem de Riparia eas h[abuisse] capiendo Bretaingne preposito pro ipsas tradendo dicto Lourdays. Et fuit appodicta *que ledit Lourdays de bien faire son devoir baillera principal obligé Gilles le Breton dedans ouyt jours. Et est assavoir que l'an dudit Lourdays est commencé le premier jour dudit mois de juin oudit an.*

Appendix 3

Documents from the Chapter Acts of Rouen Cathedral, 1483-1501.
Rouen, Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime (ADSM), G2142-G2146.

Document 6. ADSM G2142, fol. 36r (19 May 1483)

[*in margin* : injunctio facta magistro Caroli Paon, ne cantet in choro.]

Item, quia magister Carolus Paon, qui sepe dum stat in choro cum aliis musicis cantantibus conatur in modum contrapuncti et alias decantare, ab aliis plurimum discordat et cantantes impedit et perturbat in scandalum et dedecus ecclesie, domini prefati, deliberacione habita, prohibuerunt ei sub pena arbitrari, ne amplius in choro cantet in turba cum aliis, quod se servaturum promisit.

Document 7. ADSM G2142, fol. 39v (11 July 1483)

[*in margin* : prohibicio facta magistro Caroli Paon.]

Item, et super eo quod dictum est de magistro Carolo Paon qui parvis choralibus hujus ecclesie poma dare consuevit etc. putrida et infecta quod patet in eorum detrimentum cedere ac pariter cum eisdem cum eisdem [*sic*] choralibus retro altare majus confabulari solet domini prohibuerunt illi sub pena unius scuti aut alia ad arbitrationem capituli ne amplius aliqua poma aut alios fructus ipsis choralibus per se vel alium deferat aut porrigat nec etc. cum eis confabuletur.

Document 8. ADSM G2144, fol. 113r (15 Sept. 1489)[*in margin* : de pecuniis annuiis pro tenorista]

Eadem [die], juxta conclusionem alias habitam de subscriptis conclusum dari, expediti, et persolvi annualium ad quatuor terminos anni equaliter de pecuniis et revenuta vacantium et deportivum a receptore eorundem, magistro Johanni de Saint Gille tenoriste retento ad servicium ecclesie pro intertenemento ipsius et victus supportatione xx^{ti} libris etc. usque ad beneplacitum capituli.

Document 9. ADSM G2144, fol. 159r (22 May 1490)[*in margin* : de tenorista]

De domino Johanne de Saint Gille, tenorista, supplicante de gratuito et persolutione somme xxx lb. sibi pro sui sustentatione ad ecclesiam ordinatarum anno novissimo pro prima annata, domini capitulantes, sibi complacere volentes pro grato servicio ecclesie impenso, dixerunt rogantes visitari super hiis que alias ad sui receptioni facta fuerunt ut provideatur eidem et debite contentetur.

Document 10. ADSM G2144, fol. 159r (25 May 1490)[*in margin* : de gratuito pro intertenemento tenoriste]

Eadem [die], attentis gratuitate commendationis et servicio domini Johannis de Saint Gille, tenoriste, ad ecclesiam cui ordinatum fuerat in anno novissimo pro intertenemento ipsius de suam xx^{ti} lb. t. capiente super recepta vacantia ampliando suam hujusmodi ut habeat unde se valeat sustentare, conclusum quod habeat in futurum annatim triginta libras turonenses ad quatuor terminos equaliter inchoantes ad festum nativitatis beate Johannis Baptiste pro primo termino, usque ad beneplacitum capituli.

Document 11. ADSM G2144, fol. 188r (26 Nov. 1490)[*in margin* : dispensatio pro tenorista]

Eadem [die] domini dispensaverunt cum magistro Johanne de Saint Gille, cappellano Clementinorum et tenorista, de lucro chori ab eo percepiendo consistendo retro chorum pro instructione et doctrina choristarum prout ab antiquo dispensatio similis concessa extitit eorum instructionibus instar videlicet dispensationis alias concessa Bonnet et aliis.

Document 12. ADSM G2144, fol. 239r (12 Oct. 1491)[*in margin* : de tenorista]

Ad exposita domini decani de magistro Johanne de Saint Gille, tenorista et beneficiato Clementinorum, pro gratuito sibi faciendo ad intertenementum ipsius in ecclesiam in qua residentia facere desiderat, domini dixerunt aliquod gratuita-tem sibi in futurum facturum mediante residentia et ita sibi sub spe gratuiti alicujus, prout deliberaverunt responsurum.

Document 13. ADSM G2144, fol. 299r (14 December 1492)[*in margin* : de missis pro tenorista]

Eadem [die] domini commiserunt magistrum Johannem de Saint Gille, tenoristam, ad celebrationem missarum ad altare Sancti Petri, in quibus nuper commissus fuerat dominus Massetus Potin, tenorista, pro discessu ipsius Potin ab ecclesia et servicio ejusdem et loco ejusdem Potin.

Document 14. ADSM G2144, fol. 355r (25 Nov. 1493)

[*in margin* : de tenorista]

Super expositis per magistrum Johannem de Saint Gille, tenoristam, de nonnullis injuriis sibi illatis a nonnullis cappellanis sui collegii Clementinorum, ita quod providendo eidem alias sub beneplacito capituli consentit reponere denarios ipsius collegii quos obtinet, domini capitulantes ordinaverunt visitationem foundationis dicti collegii visitari et evocari eos qui ipsum exponentem injuriati fuerunt quod cedere potest in dedecus capituli, ut postmodum provideant eidem de remedio si opus erit.

Document 15. ADSM G2144, fol. 355v (26 Nov. 1493)

[*in margin* : de tenorista]

Audito magistro Johanne de Saint Gille, tenorista, super conquestu per eum habito contra dominum Guillelmum Vallee, cappellatum Clementinorum, quod eum vocavit infamando « filz de putain » et quod erat excommunicatus, et pariformiter contra magistrum Robertum Fortis, cappellatum de Albania, qui eum infamando dixit quod erat excommunicatus ad maximam dedecus ipsius tenoriste, evocato postmodum ad capitulum eodem Vallee, qui subterfugiendo negavit eundem tenoristam injuriasse, licet aliqua verba occulte injuriosa nuntia, ut dicebat, habuissent, tandem domini capitulantes dixerunt inquiri latius ut fiat justitia.

Document 16. ADSM G2144, fol. 355v (26 Nov. 1493)

[*in margin* : de tenorista]

Eadem [die], inquisitus magister Robertus Fortis, cappellanus de Albania, super injuriis propositis contra eum per de Saint Gille, tenoristam, et per ipsum Fortis pronunciatis de persona ipsius tenoriste, dicendo quod erat excommunicatus, in dedecus ipsius tenoriste et totius capituli, qui respondit quod in verbis allegatis et que partes invicem habuerunt citra injuriam fiat et etc. pro repulsione verborum de quibus rixabatur, tandem domini dixerunt latius inquiri de promissis eo exhortato ut caveat in futurum a prolatione injuriarum.

Document 17. ADSM G2144, fol. 356r (29 Nov. 1493)

[*in margin* : de tenorista]

Exposito de assertis injuriis hesterna die in choro de releveya [?] habitis et pronuntiatis per dominum Robertum des Quesnes, cappellatum clementinorum, de persona magistri Johannis de Saint Gille tenoriste sibi tunc proximi ad dedecus ecclesie et totius capituli, evocatis ipsis et eis auditis, ipso Des Quesnes negante animo injurando quicquid sinistri de eo protulisse, tandem domini capitulantes ordinaverunt desuper informari per suos auditores causarum injugendo eisdem ne hinc inde proferant injurias seu rixeni, sub pena excommunicationis carceris et xl lb. t.

Document 18. ADSM G2145, fol. 20v (27 Sept. 1494)

[*in margin* : de magistro Johanne de Saint Gille tenorista]

Ea die presentata supplicatione per magistrum Johannem de Saint Gille, tenoristam et nuper magistrum choristarum, domini ordinaverunt et concluserunt, habita deliberatione inter eos, quod pro uno anno incipiendo in festo Sancti Michaelis proximo habeat sexdecim libris turonensis pro victu decentius supportando, et ut cura servitium de cetero continuet et intendat solícite.

Document 19. ADSM G2145, fol. 121r-v (24 May 1496)[*in margin* : injunctio ad tenoristam]

Fuit districte injunctum magistro Johanni de Saint Gille, tenoriste ecclesie qui pluribus festivis et solemnibus diebus visus est contempnere servicium ecclesie, et cantare cessavit in motetis, Patrem, et aliis discantum requirentibus, quod de cetero serviat ecclesie devote et honeste, alioquin domini providebunt de alio.

Document 20. ADSM G2146, fol. 26v (25 July 1497)[*in margin* : de tenorista]

Perlecta requesta magistri Johannis de Saint Gille, tenoriste, instanter commendari per capitulum apud dominum archiepiscopum pro beneficio ecclesiastico in sui provisionem conferendo, domini dixerunt pro alterum dominorum qui voluerit id fieri particulariter attentis multis in medium expositis.

Document 21. ADSM G2146, fols. 98v-99r (17 Dec. 1498)[*in margin* : de tenorista pro dispensatione]

Ad expositionem magistri Johannis de Saint Gille, tenoriste cappellani Clementinorum, cum quo ab annata dispensatum extitit pro recreatione et flebothomiis sub certis oneribus videlicet quod intersit misse et aliis officiis quibus cantus tenoriste requiruntur prout cavere in dispensatione quam exhibuit instantis sibi dispensationem concessam interpretari et declarari ex eo quod, a pauco tempore citra, de saltarius sui collegii eum apposuerat in defectum ab ejus non comparentiam ad horas seu officia quibus cantus tenoriste requirebatur certa die recreationis quam ceperat, habita deliberatione domini ordinaverunt de defectu novissimo sibi misericorditer indulgeri et lucrum reportari pro futuris autem temporibus ubi obtingit diebus recreationis et flebothomi per eum capiendis ipsum deficere ad comparentiam officiorum quibus cantus tenoriste requiritur, eum apponi in perditione pro die illa dumtaxat in qua non interfuerit.

Document 22. ADSM G2146, fol. 256v (26 Nov. 1501)[*in margin* : de morte capellani etc.]

Insuper dictus dominus Johannes Hauvedart, dominus Johannes de Lastelle, et magister Bonnet, executores defuncti magistri Johannis de Saint Gille, tenoriste et cappellani Clementinorum, qui decessit ex matutino hujus diei, presentaverunt testamentum ipsius defuncti, cujus tenore rithmico audito domini ordinaverunt eum inhumari post vespas hujus diei ad locum requisitum cum auctoritate capiendo xx lb. pro inhumatione absque prejudicio executorum concedendo etiam eisdem inductas deliberando de modo oneris dicte executionis assumendo.

Appendix 4

Table of Musicians (Mostly Tenorists) in the Chapter Acts of Rouen Cathedral, 1472-1503.

Ango, Ricardus	magister, tenorist (1489-1491) appointment, May 1489 (G2144 : 86v, 182v) ; discharged, Apr. 1491 (G2144 : 212v)
Cocquerel, Andreas	priest, tenorist (1498-1502) gratuity, Mar. 1498 (G2146 : 60v) ; remuneration, Sept. 1502 (G2146 : 295r)

- De Groussy priest, « quidam forensis musicus »
Dec. 1502 (G2147 : 15v)
- De Orto, Guillelmus also Du Jardin ; magister, tenorist, « diaconus de
Stoijs » (1501)
appointment, Dec. 1501 (G2146 : 257r)
- Du Buisson, Mathurin magister, tenorist (1488, 1500) ; perhaps related to the
French royal court singer Jehan Du Buisson (*fl.* 1454-75)
and the Burgundian court singer George Du Buisson
(*fl.* 1498-1501)
admonished for insulting Canon Johannes Versoris and
others, and for living with a girl of low repute, Aug.-Oct.
1488 (G2144 : 34v-35r, 36r, 45v-46r) ; after many travels
abroad, he submitted a request to be reappointed, which
was granted by the chapter in Feb. 1500 (G2146 : 155r,
155v)
- Du Pont, Johannes tenorist (1494)
remuneration (G2145 : 26r)
- Enquerran, Nicolaus tenorist (1500-1502)
appointment, June 1500 (G2146 : 173v, 231r) ; remunera-
tion, Dec. 1501 (G2146 : 257r) ; reprimanded for
sexual relations with a girl named Robina, April-May
1502 (G2146 : 277r-v, 278r) ; remuneration, June and
Sept. 1502 (G2146 : 284v, 295r)
- Fresneau, Johannes canon, magister, priest, bachelor of decretals ; traceable
at the French royal court and the Milanese ducal chapel
in 1469-1486
installed as canon, 30 June 1488 (G2144 : 20v-21v,
162v), remained in residence at Rouen for many years
thereafter
- Haquart, Andree priest, tenorist (1495)
gratuity (G2145 : 154v)
- Jullienne, Michael musicus (1502)
Dec. 1502 (G2147 : 15v)
- Le Barbier, Gaufridus magister, tenorist (1489)
appointment and remuneration, Mar., Oct 1489
(G2144 : 73v, 123v)
- Lonnel, Galterus magister, tenorist (1502)
Dec. 1502 (G2147 : 15v)
- Martin, Johannes priest, tenorist (1472-1475) ; cannot be identical with
the composer Johannes Martini
repeatedly reprimanded and incarcerated for miscon-
duct by the cathedral chapter (G2139 : 25v, 30v, 120r-
122r, 152r, 155r, 163r, 164r)
- Millon, Johannes cleric, tenorist (1502)
appointment June 1502 (G2146 : 284v) ; gratuity, Octo-
ber 1502 (297v)
- Moreau priest, « quidam forensis musicus » (1502)
Dec. 1502 (G2147 : 15v)

Potin, Macé (« Massetus »)	tenorist (1491-92) appointment, Apr. 1491 (G2144 : 212r, 212v, 233r, 266v) ; promoted to subdeacon, Mar. 1492 (G2144 : 267r)
Senart, Petrus	cleric, tenorist (1502) appointment, June 1502 (G2146 : 283v) ; gratuity, October 1502 (297v)
Thoudousse, Johannes	tenorist (1501) appointment, Sept. 1501 (G2146 : 246r-v)
Versoris, Johannes	canon, succentor, rector choristarum (G2144 : 45v-46r, 70r)
unnamed tenorist	described in Oct. 1492 as « quidam iuvenis tenorista de Blanuilla oriundus » (G2144 : 349r)

* * *

SUMMARY

Among the numerous testaments of fifteenth-century canons and chaplains at Rouen Cathedral (a collection now kept in boxes at the Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime) there is one that has special claims to our interest. It is the last will of a church musician, Jean de Saint Gille (d.1501), it is written entirely in rhymed French verse, and the author reveals that he had composed a Mass in polyphony that he wanted to be sung in his own commemoration after his death. The last of these points parallels a similar clause in Guillaume Dufay's testament. As well known, Dufay's three-voice Requiem, now lost, appears to have been composed specifically for the composer's own commemoration at Cambrai Cathedral. What does it tell us about Jean de Saint Gille that he wrote his testament in rhymed French verse? How should we read his text? And most intriguingly, what kind of man was he? Here, the richly-detailed chapter acts of Rouen Cathedral come to our help. They not only record several curious incidents in the life of this forgotten composer, but tell us about numerous other musicians active at the cathedral in the late 15th century.

RÉSUMÉ

Parmi les nombreux testaments de chanoines et chapelains du xv^e siècle conservés dans les fonds de la cathédrale de Rouen aux archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime, l'un d'entre eux revêt un intérêt particulier pour les musicologues. Ce testament d'un musicien de l'église appelé Jean de Saint Gille († 1501) est non seulement intégralement écrit en vers, mais l'auteur y révèle qu'il souhaitait qu'une messe polyphonique qu'il avait lui-même composée soit chantée en sa mémoire après sa mort. Ce dernier point rappelle une clause similaire du testament de Guillaume Dufay. Comme c'est bien connu, le Requiem à trois voix de Dufay, perdu, semble avoir été composé expressément pour la commémoration du compositeur à la cathédrale de Cambrai. Que signifie le fait que Jean de Saint Gille ait écrit son testament en vers ? Comment lire ce texte ? Plus intrigant encore : qui était ce chanteur obscur ? À cet égard, les registres d'actes capitulaires de la cathédrale de Rouen sont riches en détails divers, qui nous informent à la fois de plusieurs épisodes curieux de la vie de ce compositeur oublié, et sur celle de nombreux musiciens actifs à la cathédrale à la fin du xv^e siècle.